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REPORT ON CHANGES IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONSTITUTION

By M. H. Lukman

- Indonesia -

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FOREWORD

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REPORT ON CHANGES IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONSTITUTION

[Following is the translation of a pamphlet
by M. H. Lukman, Djakarta, 1959, pages 3-54.]

Comrades: In March it has already been almost five years since our Party held its Fifth National Congress. During that period, our Party, under the leadership of the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Aidit, has experienced many changes. Party membership has climbed from 165,206 to more than 1.5 million. The number of Party organizations has spread and extended over the entire country. The political influence has also climbed swiftly, to an extent that astonishes friend and foe alike. The results which have been achieved by our Party in the general elections are evidence of the amazing increase in political influence. In the elections for parliament and the constituent assembly in 1955, our Party obtained a total vote of over six million, while two years later, in the 1957 elections for regional representative councils, which up to now have not even been completed in all regions, it obtained a total vote of over eight million.

Comrades: A true picture of the changes which have been experienced by our Party during the periods between the Fifth and Sixth National Congresses, particularly concerning the status of our Party on the Indonesian national scene, has already been set forth in the General Report of the Central Committee, given by Comrade Aidit.

What has caused our Party to be able to progress in such headlong fashion in all fields? There are, of course, objective factors without and within the nation which influence our Party in the sense of aiding our Party in achieving its goals. Domestic factors which assist Party progress are the high revolutionary spirit in the mass of the people, which was particularly accentuated by the August '45 Revolution, and the damage of that August Revolution itself which cannot other than have killed spirit, but nevertheless served to awaken

political consciousness and a revolutionary spirit in the central mass of the people. By foreign factors is meant the advances made by the forces of Socialism, the forces of anti-colonialism, and the struggle for peace. Advances in the economic, technical and spiritual fields by countries which are fortresses of Socialism demonstrate one by one the superiority of Socialism over capitalism. The living proofs of the superiority of the Socialistic system over capitalism have a strong power of attraction for the working class, the farmer, and the intellectual in all countries. This fact results in strongly aiding and arousing political consciousness among the mass of the people in general and inspires their hopes and confidences in Socialism, in the Communist Party. It need not be explained further that internal and external factors counterbalance these.

But aside from these objective factors, there are other factors which play a role in determining the progress being made by our Party, namely factors within the Party, factors arising within the body of the PKI itself. What is meant by these internal factors is the existence of a political program and an organizational program which is genuine, or as generally said, the existence of a true political front and a true organizational front.

In what form, basically, should that political and organizational program be laid out? None other than in the form of the Party Constitution.

Thus, in other words and abbreviated, it may be said that the progress of our Party basically also comes as a reward of the execution of the Party Constitution.

Comrades: Our Party had, of course, a fairly adequate new Constitution in 1951. Because of the collapse of the plan for a Congress in the year 1948, over which precedence was taken by the Madiun Provocation, the Constitution of the Party for 1947, which failed to fulfill conditions as a constitution of the Marxist-Leninist Party, had perforce to remain valid until 1950. Not until the beginning of the year 1951 did the new Central Committee, led by Comrade Aidit, form a Provisional Constitution to replace that of 1947.

With this Provisional Constitution we succeeded in forming the Party, even though we were beginners, even though we continued for almost a year longer to experience a half-underground existence. This terminated with the August Suliman upheaval. Taking as our guide our political and organizational programs which formed the bases of that Provisional Constitution, we had already succeeded in changing the status of the Party from a small and isolated party to a party which was of some size and beginning

to take its place among the fronts of the national entity. Our Party membership, which at the beginning 1952 totalled only 7,910, we had been able to expand to 126,671 at the end of that year, and it had become 165,206 at the time of the Fifth National Congress in March 1954. Parallel with the growth in size and strength of Party organizations, parallelly greater was our Party's success in striking blows at the forces of reaction and attracting strength to the national unity front. In such fashion, the flourishing of our Party and the front of national unity were influenced, see-saw fashion. And with the force of this national front we struck harder blows, one by one, at those dominating us, particularly the imperialists and landholders in Indonesia, i.e., the Masjumi-PSI [Padjelis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia and Partai Sosialis Indonesia -- Moslem Party and Indonesian Socialist Party], beginning with the blow which caused the downfall of the Sukiman Government.

It is these results of the formation of the Party, based upon this Provisional Constitution of 1951, which have become the determining condition for the result of the Fifth National Party Congress in March 1954.

In the Fifth National Congress, the Provisional Constitution, after improvements had been made, was accepted as the fixed constitution.

From the above it may be concluded that the race-horse progress achieved by our Party during this time serves as evidence of the correctness and precision of the political line which was determined by the Fifth National Congress and the correctness and precision of the political leadership by the Central Committee of our Party after the Fifth National Congress. This speed of progress also serves as evidence of the correctness and precision of the organizational line which was determined by the Fifth National Congress, and the correctness and precision of the organizational leadership by the Central Committee of our Party after the Fifth National Congress.

Realities of political line must, of course, go along with realities of organizational line. The Party cannot progress or flourish if only one or the other is correct and accurate.

Before the Party Constitution of 1947 was changed, fundamental weaknesses and errors had arisen, damaging to our Party, i.w. weaknesses and errors in the organizational field. With the Party Constitution of 1947, of course, it was not possible to develop an organizational line and leadership of the organization which were straight and true. The 1947 Party Constitution not only lacked perfection, but also permitted acts in entire

disaccord with the principles of the organization of the Communist Party. To mention one example only, under the heading "Membership", there is included a section concerning what may be termed special members, consisting of mass organizations. The basic error of the leadership of the organization at that time, which made the Party very weak, was that of forming organizations with the name Socialist Party or Labor Organization, while keeping the PKI underground. This error originated with the leadership, which of its own volition placed itself in an illegal or semi-illegal position. This meant willingly limiting the Party's activities and freedom of movement. It stands to reason that as a result of this, a genuine Party man cannot become important and potent.

These organizational errors at that time did not stick out to catch the eye, because they were not generally understood by the public nor even by the majority of the Party members. What did meet the eye at that time was in the field of politics, i.e., the evil consequences for Linggardjati and the Renville Agreement. In point of fact, the really fundamental ills which existed in our Party at that time were flaws in organization. Evils in the leaders of the organization had already rendered our Party an organization entirely meaningless and impotent, really just a sort of political compromise with Linggardjati and Renville. An attitude which from the beginning has aggrandized the power of the Dutch and other imperialists and always minimized the strength of the Indonesian Revolution and everything allied with it, i.e., the anti-imperialist forces, and added to the errors of the organizational leaders. This weakened the Party and inclined it more in the direction of that compromise policy.

Comrade Musso likes to say that the policies of Linggardjati and Renville wouldn't have had such lasting effect had we not made errors in the organizational field which were so serious and basic. For that reason it is clearly no accident that the corrections in the organizational field constitute the very first chapter in the "New Road" Resolution.

Comrades: Recalling briefly the organizational evils that occurred in the Party during the years of the Revolution of August 1945, as they are pointed up in the "New Road", it may be understood even more clearly that the Party Constitution approved by the Fifth National Congress will genuinely be the expression of the "New Road" in the organizational field.

Now, during this Congress, we are also to discuss changes in the Party Constitution which the Fifth Congress

approved. But doesn't this mean that there are still errors and shortcomings in that constitution?

In general, the lines and principles of organization together with regulations determined in the Constitution approved by the Fifth Congress have been reinforced in applicability by practical experience in organization during this period. Accordingly, the existence of proposals for changes at this time emphatically does not affect the principles already determined by previous congresses. On the one hand, those proposed changes specify more definitely the applicability and clarify the intent of the formulations of lines and principles and regulations which are in general already valid, on the other hand such proposed changes take the form of a basic expression of organizational principles based upon practical experience during this period. In the following I shall give the reasons for various of the proposed changes and other explanations concerning various parts of the Constitution which have not been subject to alteration, but which according to experience clearly are not sufficiently understood or still lack points of specificity as to their effectuation.

I. Preamble to the Constitution.

Comrades: Our Party Constitution consists of two basic parts, namely the General Constitutional Program and the section of Constitutional regulations. These two parts constitute one unity. A member in agreeing to the Party Constitution agrees not only to the Constitutional regulations which are included within the constitution, but also agrees to the General Program as a base and guide for his activity. The General Constitutional Program is a political program and an organizational program, based on the Party, whereas various of the Constitutional regulations are basic Party determinations regulating the private life [of the member?]. In this present Proposed Constitutional change, there is really no change in the purpose and basic content; we are changing the term General Program of the Constitution to Preamble to the Constitution. By General Program of the Constitution, it should be emphasized, was meant no more and no less than a preamble to the Constitution. Thus in this respect we are only changing the name -- General Program to Preamble. The purpose of this change of name is merely that of avoiding confusion when we mention the General Program of the Constitution with the Party Program, which is a totally separate Party document and which is usually also referred to as having two basic portions, i.e. the

General Program and the Accessory Program.

This Preamble to the Constitution is the same as the previous General Program of the Constitution in that it does as before contain the political program and the organizational program basic to the Party. For this reason, we claim that in changing the name General Program to Preamble, we have not changed its intent. It still concerns the basic content, which has undergone no change whatever. It contains, as previously, short statements concerning the nature of the Party and its theory, concerning human nature, motivating forces, duties, and forces which are obvious in the Indonesian revolution, concerning the basic policy of the Party and the conditions which the Party must possess, concerning criticism and self-criticism within the Party, concerning the mass front, and concerning the principles of Party organization.

Comrades! As respects Party theory, we are making changes in formulation in the Preamble. We state now, for example, "All the work of the PKI is based on Marxist-Leninist theory". We mention the theory only as Marxism-Leninism, and we do not mention the names of the great pupils of Marx, Engels and Lenin, who themselves expounded Marxism-Leninism, just as did Comrade Stalin and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Nor do we include the "Great Musso Correction". This change is in no sense intended to mean that the previous formulation was faulty. It was of course because of Comrade Stalin and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, whom [whose teachings] at that time we made a basis for the struggle to renew our Party. Also, at that time we were fighting hard enough to carry out the Great Musso Correction to the fullest.

Now it is perhaps not wrong if we state that we have already effected completely the Great Musso Correction, formulated to become the "New Road" resolution. For that reason it was no longer felt necessary that it be included in the Preamble.

Concerning the teachings of Comrade Stalin and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we may state that the general realities included in them which are valid for Indonesia, are included as well in the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. The formulation in the Preamble states that "Since Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma but a guide for action, the PKI will accordingly within its activities hold to the general principles of Marxism-Leninism so far as is practical in the Indonesian revolutionary struggle. With this formulation, not only are the teachings of Comrade Stalin and Comrade Mao Tse-tung included, but further than that, it once and for all gives us a reminder not to become dogmatic.

Concerning the dangers which we must oppose, the Preamble now includes also the danger of revisionism, both new and old. This is of importance. It is so because to combat modern revisionism means right now to fight for solidarity and unity of the world Communist movement. However we know it, the danger of modern revisionism lies in its role of breaking solidarity and disrupting the unity of the world Communist movement, such as is being carried on by the leaders of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. In ideology, revisionism, old as well as modern, is the same as reformism and social democracy.

Later on, concerning our Weltanschauung, the formulation of the Preamble now states that the PKI disputes the world-outlook of idealism and metaphysics. With this alteration, we intend to point up the sharp conflict of idealism and metaphysics with the world of material dialectics. For the direct opposite of materialism is idealism and that of dialectics is metaphysics.

The PKI disputes an idealistic view of the world, since the man who believes in an ideal world, in the way of explaining it or comprehending it is one who believes in a spiritual being greater than the material. In every-day practical existence, people who believe in an ideal world do not see and do not wish to see any correction in creation. On the other hand, we who see a materialistic world, emphatically deny anything which takes the form of a spirit, as reactionaries have so long scorned us for doing. On the contrary, we regard materialism as more important than spirituality. In every-day practical life, as the mirror image of the idealists, it is we, the materialists, who seek out and point out the corrections to be made in creation.

The PKI also disputes metaphysics or metaphysical thinking because persons who think metaphysically regard anything as being isolated from the state of its surroundings, and as isolated from change and development. The man who thinks metaphysically regards all objects as separated, one from the other, denying their mutual relationship, regarding everything as if it were fixed and immobile, denying change and development. On the other hand, we who think dialectically regard things always as being mobile, and look for the existence of a reciprocal relationship between the thing and its environment, and have as our goal the search for change and improvement in the world.

With the distinction that the PKI world outlook is that of the material dialectic and the materialism of history is Marxist-Leninist, does this mean that we say that materialism is Marxist-Leninist, or that when

we say dialectic we mean Marxist-Leninist, and with historical materialism, does that mean the principles of the dialectic method and material Marxist-Leninist philosophy broadened to the study of mankind and the history of mankind? Because there are, of course, kinds of materialism which are not Marxist-Leninist, among others, non-dialectic materialism, or mechanical materialism, and there exist also dialectics which are not Marxist-Leninist, the dialectic of Hegel, for example, which is not materialistic.

Every member and would-be member of the Party must possess or study for the possession of the world outlook of dialectic materialism. This means having, or studying to have, the materialistic view of the world and a dialectic means of thought! Dialectic material philosophy is of the same meaning as a dialectic materialistic view of the world. Therefore with the word "world-outlook" is meant also "philosophy".

But can our Party's membership, the large majority of which consists of laborers and farmers, have a philosophy or study a philosophy? Isn't philosophy a quite complicated discipline, only knowledgeable to the erudite?

Of course, to arrange and formulate a philosophical viewpoint as a firm and systematic thing is not easy. This work is only carried on by philosophers. But this fact certainly doesn't mean that philosophy can't be possessed or can't be understood by the mass of the people. Because philosophy is nothing more than our most generalized viewpoint about the state of the world and our place in it.

For that reason, every man really has his own kind of philosophy, even though he never studied it. And every man is, of course, influenced by his philosophical viewpoints, even though he does not feel what he possesses it and cannot formulate it.

For example, take the opinion that wealth or poverty is a matter of luck, and that every suffering or enjoyment which we experience is a turn of fortune or a test which must be received alike with an attitude of equanimity -- such is one philosophical viewpoint.

The formulation and codification of philosophical viewpoints are the fruit of the toil of philosophers. But the content of those viewpoints themselves cannot but have their social bases within the thoughts which mirror human activity and human relations. Since society is divided into classes, every philosophical viewpoint is also a class viewpoint.

A world view of dialectical materialism and historical Marxist-Leninist materialism are the world outlooks

of the working class. Such a view can help the common man to understand the state of the world and his place in it, how he can alter the world and alter society, elevate the potency of man above nature and free mankind from oppression and superstition.

For this reason it is clear that it becomes a Party duty to indoctrinate each member so that he consciously possesses and employs a world outlook or philosophy which is Marxist-Leninist. Only by such a course will Marxist-Leninist philosophy be enabled to extend itself to become the property of the mass of people and become a weapon in the strife against the parasitic classes. Not to have a philosophy in actuality means to accept things in an uncritical manner, and thus to use the philosophy of the parasitic classes.

In order to form a materialist viewpoint among Party members, we must run courses packed with guidance for members, instructing them to seek every truth in existence.

Comrades: Concerning the section which explains human nature, motivating forces, duties, and aspirations which are predominant in the Indonesian Revolution, the Preamble has been subjected only to a little editorial improvement here and there.

To understand this section more clearly, read Comrade Aidit's brochure concerning the basis of the Indonesian revolution ("Masjarakat Indonesia dan Revolusi Indonesia"). But since so many questions have arisen in these proposed Constitutional changes which will have to be discussed, it was felt best to give a little explanation concerning this section.

In the currently used preamble, two terms concerning the status of Indonesia are used, these being "not yet fully free" and "half-colonized". We utilize these two terms in the same sense. This is because a portion of the territory of Indonesia, namely West Irian, is still colonized entirely by Dutch imperialism, and on the other hand the economy in portions of territory which does already lie in Indonesian control is not solely under the control of the Republic of Indonesia, but is to a large extent still controlled by imperialists because of its backwardness. Thus, politically, save in West Irian, we may say that there presently exists political freedom, but that economically, Indonesia is still colonized by foreign imperialists. It is as if the entire territory of Indonesia were already ruled by the Republic of Indonesia, but the economy of Indonesia were still dominated or strongly dependent upon imperialistic nations, in which condition Indonesia cannot

yet be said to be fully free. Political power can never be entirely separated from economic potential, and in fact it is exactly the economic potential which constitutes the basis for political power. For this reason it is impossible for any nation to possess full power in the political field if the economy of that nation is still dominated or strongly dependent upon other nations, imperialistic nations. It is thus clear that any nation which is not yet free in the economic field is also a nation which is not yet free fully in the political sense. That is the reason, however it may be explained in the general report of Comrade Aidit, that we may draw the conclusion that, although politically Indonesia may already be termed free, since its economy is still colonial, it remains in fact still half-colonized.

But although the words "not yet fully free" and the word "half-colonized" in fact contain the same sense, people usually hear these two words with different feelings. For the purpose of carrying out a particular strategem, we employed these two terms of like meaning. Accordingly, both terms will appear in the Preamble.

To be able to understand who is genuinely referred to by the term Indonesian revolutionary, we must first understand clearly the reality of the Indonesian revolution. It is stated in the Preamble that the Indonesian Revolution in its present stage is a bourgeois-democratic new type, or the revolution of a People's Democracy, namely the revolution of the masses in a broader sense, guided by the proletariat.

This means that even though basically the Indonesian revolution in its present stage has a bourgeois-democratic form, its direction is nevertheless no longer toward the form of a capitalistic society and a nation under bourgeois dictatorship, but a socialistic system undergoing a system of dictatorial power like that of the revolutionary class, namely People's Democracy. For that reason it is self-evident that the duty and responsibility determined by history for the Indonesian Revolution to be able to reach its objective goal, the leadership cannot do other than fall on the shoulders of the working class. The difference with the bourgeois-democratic revolution of the old type lies in the direction of its objective, i.e., an old-type bourgeois-democratic revolution has as its goal the creation of a capitalistic society and a nation of bourgeois dictatorship. For this reason, the leadership of old-type bourgeois-democratic revolutionaries may not and must not be in the hands of the bourgeois class.

But what are the factors which determine that the Indonesian revolution in its present stage must take a new-type bourgeois-democratic form?

Comrades: In the Preamble is stated that the factors which determine the form of a new-type bourgeois democracy in the Indonesian revolution are: an Indonesia which is not fully free and still half-feudal, the motivating force of the Indonesian revolution being the working class, the farmers, the petit-bourgeoisie and other democratic elements which were harmed by imperialism; the fact that there already exists in Indonesia a Communist Party growing stronger and more influential day by day in present international conditions. These factors reciprocally determine one another, until the totality takes the form of a unity which is not isolated.

Indonesia being not yet fully free, or still half-colonial and still half-feudal, means that a great part of the economy is an agricultural economy which is still very backward and half-feudal. Basically, the economy of Indonesia still has a colonial form, and is an import-export economy, much dependent upon foreign shipping. A nation, although its economy is not wholly capitalistic, a large portion of whose economy is still half-feudal agricultural, will never be able directly to give birth to the Socialist revolution. Revolution in a country of this sort basically can do nothing other than take the form of an agrarian revolution, i.e., a revolution of the farmers to obtain land to cultivate. A revolution which basically does not destroy but in fact bestows the right of associate ownership of the means of production, that is to say one which gives land as associative property right to the farmers, is obviously clearly not a Socialist revolution, but a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It is for that reason that revolutions in colonial nations are usually termed agrarian revolutions, i.e., revolutions of the farmers.

But the Indonesian revolution, even though it takes a bad form because of its epoch can no longer bear the bad form of the old type, i.e., it cannot fully bear a bourgeois form. The bourgeois-democratic revolution, old type, only occurred during the period of the flourishing of capitalism. But the Indonesian revolution has occurred precisely at a time of imperialism, a period of world proletarian revolution and further, in a period when Socialist nations have already sprung up, where Socialism has already become the world system. Viewed from the temporal aspect alone, since the Indonesian revolution directly strikes at and weakens world imperialism, it has become a part of the world proletarian revolution. Like it or not, the Indonesian revolution is one of the world proletariat. Like it or not, the Indonesian revolution means an increase in strength for existing Socialist nations and the world

working class movement. This means that, like it or not, the Indonesian revolution makes Indonesia one of the nations of the Socialist redoubt and the world working class movement, for they have in the past and will continue in the future increasingly to weaken the strength of imperialism, which has become the particular enemy of the Indonesian revolution, so they, overtly or not, constitute a force for the Indonesian revolution. And the circumstance, of course, cannot be denied that the nations of the Socialist redoubt and the world working class movement have and will continue to give strength to the Indonesian revolution. For that reason, recognized or not, the nations of the Socialist redoubt and the world working class movement are the most trusted clansmen of the Indonesian revolution.

Seen from the viewpoint of the status of the Indonesian working class itself, of course one circumstance which we must accept is that the Indonesian working class is small in number compared with the peasants, in an era wherein the working class is still young as compared to the working classes of Europe, and its cultural level still low compared with that of the bourgeois class. But so far as the tough struggle itself goes, brought on by the progress of the world working class, especially the working class movement which had already achieved its goal with the establishment of Socialist nations, lead by the working class of Russia in the great Socialist October Revolution of 1917, the Indonesian working class has already been able to achieve a level of political awareness and organization which makes it satisfactory to stand as a class force. This is evidenced by the existence of our party, the Indonesian Communist Party.

The existence of an Indonesian Communist Party, i.e., the party of the working class of Indonesia, means that the working class and the mass of workers of Indonesia already possess their own political leadership and do not need to follow the political leadership of the bourgeois class. Furthermore, in the revolution the working class which is already class-conscious and already has its own political guidance is certainly not going to hand over leadership of the revolution to the bourgeoisie.

By the same token it is clear that the existence of a PKI, and furthermore a KP which is growing in strength and influence with the passage of time, constitutes one factor which determines that the Indonesian revolution cannot longer take the former bourgeois-democratic form, but takes a new bourgeois-democratic form as a transitional form towards the Socialist revolution.

Since the Indonesian revolution is the revolution of a People's Democracy which will continue and rise to a Socialist revolution, its moving forces cannot be other than the classes who can accept Socialism. Outside the working class, it is only the peasants and the petit-bourgeoisie who can accept Socialism. Labor, the peasantry, and the petit-bourgeoisie can accept Socialism because they are basically not parasitic classes, but of the masses.

A national bourgeois class, even be it national, is still a parasitic class. For this reason it cannot only not accept Socialism but indeed opposes it, especially before the strength of the revolution is sufficiently great. For this reason, too, the national bourgeois class is not a moving factor in the revolution of a People's Democracy. A national bourgeois class, of course, is able to and necessarily joins up to defined limits in the revolution, but it can also at a certain time and under certain conditions depart from and oppose the revolution.

The August 1945 revolution was a failure, even though the Communists at that time took a very active role, both at the time of preparation for the Proclamation as well as in carrying out every part of the revolutionary cycle, down to the fighting on the front line. As a basic result, besides the treachery of the comprador bourgeoisie who got up the Madiun Provocation and went on to establish the KMB [The Round Table Agreement], millions upon millions of the mass of peasants were not aroused and drawn into the revolution.

What is the significance of the millions and millions of the mass of peasants not having been aroused and attracted to the revolution?

In the Preamble an explanation is made concerning the weakness of the Indonesian working class in the August 1945 Revolution, namely that the working class at that time lacked awareness of its role as the revolutionary leader. This fact brought about the result that the PKI as the Party of the working class at that time suffered a loss of freedom of action in the organizational and political fields. Because of this weakness, our Party at that time was not yet able to further a revolutionary and agrarian program, one which appropriately should have been carried out as a matter of consciousness in the daily struggle. Thus it is clear that the significance of the millions and millions of the masses of peasants not having been aroused and drawn into the revolution was the failure of progress of a revolutionary agrarian program.

Comrades: Since it has now been possible to overcome party fractures resulting from past evils and as a result

of the Madiun Provocation, there is no longer included in the present Preamble the matter of curing the Party's wounds arising from old evils and from the Madiun Provocation.

In relation to the question of association in the national unity front, in the Preamble it is now explained that the PKI strives for the effectuation of political equality for all races without regard to large or small differences and their degree of progress or backwardness, and for the effectuation of equal rights for every citizen without regard to descent or religious belief. With this statement we intend to impart the understanding that in carrying out the work of the national unity front, it must be especially viewed from the standpoint of the classes which can be unified because they obviously possess the basis for unification. But we must also remember two other factors of great importance, namely the racial factor involving the minorities of foreign descent, and the religious factor.

The Indonesian people consists of many races and minorities of foreign descent, and because of the influence of religion, particularly the Islamic religion, among the masses, if we are not able to fix upon a correct political standpoint toward race and minority of foreign descent as well as toward religion, the work of the unity front of our Party will face additional difficulties and complexities, so many that it could fail.

Comrades: In the Preamble there is now included a comment concerning the possibility of a peaceable transition to Socialism. This has great and important significance both theoretically and practically.

The defenders and propagandists of the imperialists, including the leaders of the Masjumi-PSI, who, overtly or covertly, directly or indirectly join in taking a part in or abetting the revolt and fierce terror of the "PRRI-Permesta" [unidentified] and DI-TII [Darul Islam -- insurgent group in Java and TII-Tentara Islam Indonesia -- Islamic Army of Indonesia, a related insurgent group] point the finger of scorn at us as Communists and depict Communism as consisting of persons thirsty for blood, who always and everywhere seek to use force to reach their goals.

It is clear, from this viewpoint alone, i.e., from the viewpoint of practical everyday work in facing the scornful propaganda of the reactionaries who continually seek to frighten the masses with horrible bogies concerning the course of firmness, we can conceive the importance of presenting the possibility of transition to Socialism by peaceful means. With the certainty that we shall strive with all our might to make that possibility a

reality, we can show once and for all that if force may be used also, however it may be depicted, it will not be begun nor will it come from the Communist side and is absolutely not desired by the Communists.

Accordingly, even though the Indonesian people, especially labor and the peasants, possess a revolutionary tradition, nonetheless the revolutionary course which must be followed by them presents great complexities. That is the reason why it is stated in the Preamble that in order to lead our long-term and unique revolution, we must possess qualities, such as a revolutionary awareness and awareness of the difficulty of the job, based upon theoretical trustworthiness, which internally and externally in full form opposes deviationism, capitulation, and adventurism.

Comrades: In reviewing the birth of our Party as the heir and continuation of the heroic and revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people, with the heroic evidences of the peoples struggle, the Preamble to our Constitution now includes additionally the rebellions and revolts which had a history of opposing Dutch colonialism and Japanese military occupation. Concerning the Revolution of August 1945, it is pointed out in the Preamble that it formed a most important aspect of the history of the struggle of the Indonesian people, for it constituted the spearhead of the heroic struggle which gives the most extensive and deep revolutionary tradition to the entire Indonesian people.

From this it is clear that what is meant in the Preamble by "other democratic elements damaged by imperialism" as moving forces of the Indonesian revolution is not the national bourgeois class but people or groups of classes other than the working class, the peasantry, and the petit-bourgeoisie who will take a part in the revolution. Thus this is possible also for persons or groups of the national bourgeois class.

If it is already clear that the basic moving force of the Indonesian revolution is the working class, the peasants, and the petit-bourgeoisie, which may also be interpreted to mean that the Indonesian revolution is a revolution of the working class, the peasants, and the petit-bourgeoisie, then it is also clear that any persons whoever or any class whatever may be included as clansmen of the Indonesian revolution. Domestically, those who may be included as allies in the revolution are the working class and elements outside the working class, the peasants and the petit-bourgeoisie, who can join in taking part in the revolution as a national bourgeois class. Abroad, it is the same forces which can aid in strengthening the

Indonesian revolution directly or indirectly, such as the international working class, the Socialist nations, the masses and the colonized peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, etc.

Comrades: Concerning the distinguishing features of the Indonesian revolution, in the Preamble it is stated that the Indonesian revolution has flourished in a unique fashion, is of long duration, and of singular form. The factors which have caused this are: first, Indonesia's being not yet fully free and still half-feudal, which signifies that the strength of our enemy remains great. Second, Indonesia is a nation of scattered islands, of large population but unevenly distributed and consisting of many racial groups of unequal degree of progress, all of which adds up to difficulty in carrying on communication, and the existence of variances in the level of awareness as well as experience in the popular movement among the various racial groups in various parts of the archipelagoes. The entirety of this to a certain degree means an increment in the strength of our enemy.

Theoretically, advancing the matter of the possibility of transition to Socialism by peaceful means, means advancing the doctrine that Marxism-Leninism certainly does not indicate precisely the same route toward Socialism for all countries during all epochs and under various international conditions. This means also that we Marxist-Leninists do not tie ourselves down with problems of the form, the methods, and the means of effectuating the revolution, for one and all of these depend upon the comparison between the forces of the established class, on the organizational level of the working class and its enemy, upon the cleverness of the working class in attracting allies to its side, particularly the peasants, and taking into account the democratic foundations, the customs and traditions, one and all, of the country.

Marx once stated that there were countries such as America and England, where the working class could achieve its purpose through peaceful means. Marx made this exception, taking into account the institutions, customs, and traditions of the countries referred to. But Lenin in 1917 wrote that under the new conditions of the capitalist monopoly, due to the growth of a bureaucratic police apparatus in England and America, the exception which had been enunciated by Marx was no longer valid. Therefore, Lenin always insisted that the working class simply preferred to take power into its hands by peaceful means. Further, Lenin once predicted that in a small bourgeois country, a peaceable transition to Socialism could possibly occur if there existed neighboring Socialist

countries. This indicates that it is not along the balance of class forces in the country under discussion, but also the existence of triumphant Socialism in neighboring countries which influences or joins in determining the road of transition to Socialism in that country. This means also that in viewing the problem of revolutionary courses during the present period, we must take as a guide a close reckoning of the class balance in various countries and the balance of the force of classes throughout the world. Conformant to these doctrines of Marx and Lenin, i.e., reckoning the objective conditions of world class balances and democracy on the one hand and the forces of imperialism on the other, and based upon the experiences of the countries of Eastern Europe whose transition to Socialism did not invariably involve civil war, Comrade Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the CPSU advanced a conclusion that under present conditions certain nations do possess a clear possibility for peaceful transition to Socialism.

For us in Indonesia, if we speak concerning the possibility of a peaceful transition to Socialism, what is meant is the possibility of arrival at the potency of a People's Democracy in a peaceable way. For if a People's Democratic system, as a transitional form towards Socialism, can be arrived at peaceably, then this means also a possibility for the continuation of the transition of the Popular Democratic System into Socialism peaceably. But what are the possibilities that the achievement of the potency of Popular Democracy in our country peaceably will take form as a concrete possibility?

In the Preamble is explained that the PKI struggles with all its strength for the conversion of that possibility into a reality. And if it depended upon the PKI, the peaceful road, the parliamentary road, would be the one chosen and there would always be a parliament, and the PKI would strive to obtain a stable parliamentary majority in mass actions, so that it could be depended upon that parliament really represented the apparatus of the great popular masses' wishes in effecting fundamental changes in the fields of economy, society, and national organization. And there exists a possibility to achieve this end, recalling the growing speed of spread of political and organizational awareness of the people in opposing the forces of the landowners and the comprador-bourgeoisie, and recalling the favorable state of international conditions at present.

But the question is whether the reactionary classes will allow the working people under the leadership of our Party to set up a People's power through peaceful means;

whether they will not rather use force to suppress and beat down the growth of the people's power, for example, by forcibly abolishing the rights of democratic freedom of the people, and also with force hamstringing or entirely abolishing parliament.

The experience of the people in Pakistan, and just now in Kerala, India, must emphatically serve as study objects for us. For that reason, in discussing the matter of the possibilities for arriving at a People's Democracy via peaceful means, in the Preamble it is stated that the PKI must stress the necessity of being on guard. But we must continually remember that according to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism such a peaceful course occurs in Marxism-Leninism as an exception which is to the advantage of the working class, and that every transition to socialism, even a peaceful one, is a revolution. And concerning revolution, Lenin stated, "...the salient point most distinguishing and uniform about this revolution and the condition for its success, previously and now, is the organization of the proletarian mass, the organization of the working class. In this organization of the millions of working people lie the ideal conditions for revolution, the spring most productive for its success."

In this connection there is something of importance now stated in the Preamble that, bearing always in mind the special conditions of the Indonesian revolution which will determine a particular route towards Socialism for Indonesia, our Party will draw its study material from the rich experience of the working class movement of the entire world, especially the working class movement which has already borne fruit in setting up Socialism. This means that further than recognizing that peculiar doctrines exist in various nations, nonetheless the general doctrine valid for all nations in transit to Socialism emphatically cannot be forgotten, i.e., that the determinant and vital factor is the political leadership of the working class led by its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party.

Comrades: The last portions of the Preamble explain with clear formulations criticism-self-criticism, mass action, and the principle of democratic centralism as vital factors for the flourishing and centralization of the Party, politically, ideologically, and organizationally. Concerning all this no further commentary is necessary, since it is already clear enough in itself, and it will be possible to clarify its meaning further in the understanding of the Constitutional Regulations. Criticism and self-criticism, mass action, and the principle of democratic centralism are the content of spirit and intent of the Constitutional Regulation of our Party. So much for the Preamble.

II. Constitutional Regulations.

Comrades: Among the paragraphs of the Constitutional Regulations, about which it was felt there should be given a bit of explanation, were paragraphs from the following sections:

1. The Section on Membership. According to the Constitutional Regulations any individual may become a Party member after he has reached the age of 18. This is based upon the consideration that in general any person may possess a political viewpoint which may be said to be adequate after reaching the age of 18.

Before a person is accepted as a Party member, he must have been a candidate member. The matter of the status and responsibilities of members and candidate members does not require clarification in the regulations. The Party is really the same -- the duties fully the same, while as concerns the rights, what differs is only the right to vote and to be elected, and having a vote in making decisions. The matter of requiring the completion of a previous trial period is only a procedural matter which must be undergone to fulfill one's intention to become a Party member.

Apart from the age qualification for membership, the Constitutional Regulations also divide persons who wish to be accepted as members into four groups, based upon their respective social origin.

The first group consists of labor, agricultural labor, poor farmers or the poor of the cities. The period during which they must be sponsored and length of trial period may be said to be very short. This means that the acceptance of a member from the proletarian and semi-proletarian group has no particular limitations. This is something which is natural, for the Communist Party is the Party of the working class. The poor of the cities, as explained in the report of Comrade Aidit, consist in part of basket-men, who receive their wares from middlemen, rag and bone men, tricycle men who own their own tricycle, cobblers, tinsmiths, barbers, etc.

The second group consists of revolutionary persons from the petit-bourgeoisie. Responsibility for their becoming members must be borne by a Party member of long experience, and their trial period is one year. These conditions are necessary because of the circumstance that the ideology of persons coming from this class is usually somewhat complicated, and they frequently possess ideas disruptive of Party discipline and inadequate for facing the fierce revolutionary struggle. Official functionaries

are included in this group, not including the lowest grade, who come under the first group.

The third group consists of revolutionary persons who were formerly of the middle class and, above that, from the parasitic class. Their ideology is indeed more at variance with and it is more difficult for them to accept the program and the discipline of the Party. For that reason, their acceptance as members must be vouched for by Party members who are really experienced and must be agreed to by a Party Committee of rather high status, and they must undergo a two-year trial period.

The fourth group, consisting of persons who have already placed their trust in another policy and have at some time been members of another party. Their acceptance as Party members, according to Constitutional Regulation, must be vouched for by Party members of even more experience and must be agreed to by a Party Committee of even higher status. But a distinction must be made between a former member of another party who was an ordinary member and a former member of the leadership. And a distinction must be made between persons who entered another party only in consequence of something which had the effect of force, or because they were registered in wholesale without their agreement. As respects them, if during their membership they did not engage in political activity of that party, the Constitutional Regulation concerning reception of new persons as members is valid in accordance with their respective class.

After the changes in the Constitution, it is now determined that a Party member who has been suspended may be readmitted as a member by decision of the Party Committee which suspended him and in accordance with the methods determining the acceptance of new members. The previous seniority of membership of anyone who has been suspended and readmitted as a Party member will not be counted. It is also stated in the present Constitutional Regulations that a candidate member is free to leave the Party. For that reason, if there is a request from a candidate member of member to be freed, a meeting of the body having jurisdiction must decide whether to eliminate his name from the Party roster and report to the most authoritative Party committee. Only if it is regarded as necessary by the Party committee involved may an effort be made to alter his intention to quit. But if any member or candidate member who requests release has already committed serious infractions of discipline which would constitute grounds for expulsion, his decision to terminate his membership shall be regarded as an expulsion. This is for

the purpose of pointing out that quitting the Party is a freedom, but entering the Party as a member involves conditions which are not freedoms.

Concerning former Party members who left the Party of their own free will and wish to return as Party members, no firm regulations have been made. This was done deliberately to differentiate between the readmission of a person who was expelled and that of a person who left the Party of his own volition. This permits various stratagems to be employed in the matter of readmitting to membership persons no longer with the Party. Among these stratagems are: Ignoring in part or in full the lapse in membership, shortening the period of candidacy or eliminating it entirely or ignoring entirely the duration of the former membership period, however long. All these factors must be weighed, together with the same reasons which led the candidate involved to quit the Party and his activities during and after his Party membership. It is a truism, of course, that any member who has ever requested freedom from the Party has thereby demonstrated incertitude in his political attitude. However, based upon the experience and the interests of the upbuilding of the Party in new territories, this liberal strategy must be carried out.

Members of the Party who have been forced by the state of affairs to break off their relations with the Party must be readmitted as soon as their applications are received and information concerning the reason for their breaking relations with the Party have been verified by the central committee of the region involved.

According to the Constitutional Regulations, every application for membership must be accompanied by documents of responsibility from responsible member(s) of the Party and must be discussed and acted upon by a meeting of the organ having jurisdiction, and verified by a higher Party committee. The ceremony of admission as a candidate member is to be carried out with recitation of the Party oath by the candidate(s) involved. There are those who propose that the Party oath be taken only once, i.e., at the time of admission as a candidate member, or at the time membership is decided upon. Based on the experience that two-fold repetition of the Party oath has an influence and acts toward the end of indoctrination of each candidate, the two-fold repetition of the Party oath is retained in the Constitution.

Experience has shown that on the problem of acceptance of new members, the applicable rules of the Constitution are not being observed, or are observed insuffi-

ciently. For example, a person who is accepted as a candidate for membership does not know how long he will have to wait before final installation. This shows that the rule on classification of prospective members into four groups, a classification which also determines the period of waiting, is not being observed, or is insufficiently observed. As a result, the ranking of candidate members cannot be observed as it should be. In this connection, it must also be noted that the problem still exists of candidate members failing to fulfill their responsibilities as determined by the Constitution. It frequently happens that a member acts as sponsor for a candidate member without knowing the candidate member well. He goes along as sponsor only at the request of some comrade member who vouches for the candidate, thus trusting the data given him by the comrade member. This weakness must be overcome because it shows an attitude which is not earnest, and in addition indicates a lack of alertness. Current experience also demonstrates that Party committees involved are not fulfilling their duty toward candidates in the matter of giving elementary Party indoctrination and in examining the political qualities of a candidate. There is evidence that in admitting candidate members to membership, Party committees take the easy course of admitting every candidate, which is to say, that of noting those of his qualities and activities which appear most favorable, whether he possesses little or much education. That the level of knowledge of every candidate should affect the length of the period before his elevation to membership is implied in the Program and the Constitution of the Party, a fact which cannot be denied. But the real fact here is that every assistance is given by the involved Party committee to candidate members, the majority of whom come from the working and peasant classes and do not have the education to enable them to promptly assimilate the Program and Constitution of the Party. If this attitude is allowed to continue, the result can only be a weakening of the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements in the Party. As determined in the Constitution, seniority is an important factor for eligibility as a member of Party committees and for sponsorship for acceptance of new members. If promotion to membership of candidate members of agrarian or working class origin is delayed by the indifference of the Party committees to providing education to enable them to reach the standards for acceptance as members, then, directly or indirectly, this is going to mean fewer rights and opportunities for the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements

to hold leadership in the Party, and a smaller percentage of these elements in the total membership of the Party.

In order to terminate the symptoms outlined above, the Party committees must arrange to fulfill to the ultimate the appropriate Constitutional Regulations with a procedure for acceptance of new members, and must continue to be oriented toward the working class and others of the masses in attracting new members. In this connection, it is most important to refer to the functionaries especially trained for the reception of new members. If we have enough of this personnel, then the Constitutional Regulation can be effectuated which states that before deciding upon or ratifying the acceptance of any candidate, the appropriate Party committee shall delegate a functionary to exchange ideas freely with the person who wishes to become a candidate member, so that a real idea of his purpose in entering the Party may be obtained.

An orientation toward the working class of cities and villages is important in drawing new members, in order that in the Party membership, if indeed it seems that a majority cannot be drawn from the proletariat, the proletarian element will at least be comparable with other elements of the working class. To this end, i.e., so that the percentage of the proletarian element in the membership will constitute a large total, the Party committees must exert all efforts toward imparting elementary Party indoctrination to candidate members who come from the group consisting of workers or farm workers, so that these can be accepted as members at the right time and more become more active in carrying out their duties. It is most important to indoctrinate candidate members to aid them in understanding the Constitution, the Program, and the Policy of the Party and to form them into a Communist cell with correct orientation toward organization, labor and the masses, and to formulate their materialistic viewpoint, so that they seek out every true doctrine.

In stressing the importance of the class composition of our Party, it is not intended that the social factor of our Party membership is the only one which determines the strength of proletarian ideology and the proletarian line of the Party. Because, as has already been stated by Comrade Liu Shao-Chi, "the determining factors are political struggle and the political life of our Party, ideological indoctrination, and political leadership." Thus, the social basis for our Party membership does not determine the nature of our Party, as is the case in the class composition of the membership of the Labor Parties in European countries in which class certainly does not

determine their nature. Even though the majority of their members come from the working class, those labor parties do not represent the working class.

But with a proletarian element which is not minimal within the Party, together with a broad and extensive indoctrination concerning Marxism-Leninism as the factor leading to salvation of the proletariat, then certainly there will ensue an increment in the strength of the proletarian ideology within the party and in the strength of the proletarian line of the Party.

Concerning the duties and rights of members, the formulation of the present Constitutional Regulations have been improved, so that probably they will be more capable of assuring the normal flourishing of the internal life of our Party, so that they will be capable of elevating the activity and the feeling of responsibility of the members as respects the Party's struggle, and will assure a unity of action of the Party.

In the present Constitutional Regulations, for the first time there are listed as duties of Party members: Attendance at meetings and courses of the Party, and reading and distribution of dailies and circulars of the Party. This is because, of course, these are duties which must be carried out by every member, and so far as possible, by every candidate member. In carrying out these primary duties, the conditions will have been fulfilled for carrying out the secondary duty, i.e., industriously and continuously studying and endeavoring to understand Marxism-Leninism and its utilization in solving concrete problems. These secondary duties are also duties of great importance, because herein lies the factor which determines whether any Party member will be able to render proper aid in the class struggle. Without a high level of awareness and understanding of Marxism-Leninism, it is not possible for any Party member to further the class struggle in a conscious and appropriate manner, and it is not possible for him to become a good Party member. For that reason, the level of awareness and understanding of any member as respects Marxism-Leninism becomes a measure of the extent of support which can be rendered by that Party member to the Party and the class struggle, while the lower his understanding, the more the support which he will be able to give is contravened.

We can see without an extensive explanation, as is stated in the Preamble, that the solidarity and unity of our Party constitutes the spirit and the strength of the Party. In its conflicts, our Party will be able to achieve victory if its policy is a true and correct one.

But with political truisms and regulations alone, we shall not be able to overcome our enemies. To this end, our Party, the true and correct one, must be followed and fought for by the unified mass of the people. But how shall we ever be able to unify the mass of the people if solidarity and unity do not exist within the Party?

Our Party, which has already become of great size, which has already had to face all kinds of activities, now, more than in times past, needs solidarity and unity, not only among its members, but especially in its cadre. Our Party, which has already grown to great size, now possesses a proportionately varied cadre -- varying in seniority, in social origin and in nature as well as field of employment. Our Party, as it possesses an Old Guard and a New one, accordingly has a cadre which comes from workers, from peasants, from the field of university students, intellectuals, etc. All of them have their points of strength, which must be encouraged, but also their points of weakness which must continually be hacked away at. This cadre in its entirety constitutes the Party's backbone, and the Party's strength will be multiplied if unity and solidarity are obtained in this field. To achieve this, there must be a mutuality of respect and a mutuality of study.

Other duties which are determined in the Constitutional Regulations, in addition to the duties of carrying out criticism and self-criticism, are those of combating feelings of excessive self-satisfaction and an attitude of arrogance, the duty of being faithful to and honest with the Party and always on guard, as well as the duties of carrying out the line of the masses in policy, organization, and morality.

As has already been explained above, victory in our Party's struggle depends upon the support of the masses. It is a matter of course that the People will be willing to assist the struggle of our Party if they are already aware of our Party. But before the people are aware of our Party through its political program, they will know about it from people who have become Party members, which means that they will first know Communists socially. And their first acquaintance with those Communists will not always occur in aggressive actions, but in every-day association. The mass of people recognize us as Communists at the outset from the manner of our life and our behavior in every-day relations, and from our home life. If we, as Communists, are known by the masses as people whose behavior is not irreproachable in daily contacts, or are known to have questionable private lives, for example known to have incessant husband-wife quarrels,

etc., then this will infallibly alienate us, as Communists, from the people. This means also the alienation of our Party from the mass of the people. It is for this reason that it is made explicit in the Party oath that we, as Communists, must not only become an example in the struggle for our native land and people, but must also endeavor to become exemplary in our daily life. This is what is meant in the Constitutional Regulations about Communists' duty to elevate their moral tone.

As respects the rights of members, determined in the Constitutional Regulations, there is one thing which needs explanation. That is concerning the right of a member to defend his opinion if he does not agree with any decision, while still being obliged to conform to that decision unquestionably.

Solidarity and unity within our Party are conceived on the basis of a universality of ideology. For that reason, the universality claimed by our Party is a universality in every principal basic matter. Nonetheless, within our Party the possibility of differences of opinion arising cannot be avoided, and on the otherhand a universality of opinion cannot be achieved by force. But aside from that, our Party absolutely requires unity of action in all practical matters. For that reason the most appropriate resolution of this two-fold contradiction cannot be other than the principle that every Party member must obey the Party organization, the lesser faction must defer to the greater faction, lower organizations must obey those above them, and the entire Party organization must obey the Central Committee. The Party herewith commands every member whose opinion may differ to carry out Party decisions unconditionally in his actions. Nonetheless, the Party member involved has the right to defend his opinion and to express it in front of the Party organization to which he belongs and to higher bodies of Party leadership. The Party organization is not allowed to compel him with disciplinary force to give up his opinion. This will not harm the Party at all, but even be to its advantage. Provided then that the Party's decisions are based on the truth and a member with a different opinion is willing to yield to the truth, he will eventually recognize happily and full of confidence the Party's justice and his own error. But when, for example, it appears later that the truth lies on the side of the minority, this arrangement makes it possible that the protection of a minority right aids and facilitates the Party's efforts to find the truth.

Finally, after deleting a separate chapter on recognition and discipline and deleting all the rules on

recognition, we introduce here, in the chapter on membership, rules on Party discipline. Except for the formulations in separate sections on how to decide on disciplinary action and the nature of these actions, we also include reminders on disciplinary action in the articles on the duties and rights of members. This reminder is considered to be important for the rules of the Constitution on duties and rights of the members to be truly adhered to, and because disciplinary action is the result of violations of duties and rights of members.

The rules on recognition have been deleted for two reasons. First, experience has shown how difficult it is to express all kinds of appreciation in a formal manner. Giving more important and responsible assignments to members and officials of the Party in accordance with their quality and intellect appears indeed to be the very best form of recognition by the Party. This shows that a formal token of appreciation is unnecessary. The second important reason is that such articles would set a bad example. Basically, we Communists do not work to receive appreciation. We work in the interest of the people. When the people give us their confidence because of the results and energy of our labor, then that is the highest form of appreciation for us members of the Communist Party. But this does not mean that there could not be a possibility at all for a higher committee to praise a lower one, or for a committee to praise Party members who display extraordinary merits.

III. On System and Principles of Organization.

Comrades: The rules of the present Constitution declare that within the Party structure there are to be Party organizations higher than the Party Section but definitely still under the CDB [Comite Daerah Besar - Committee for a Daerah Besar or region of the size of a former province]. These will be island and city organizations founded on islands and in cities named by the Central Committee, and an organization for the special region of Jogjakarta. The idea is that the several CDBs will be able to give better guidance to Party organizations on islands where the society forms a true entity and in cities considered important on account of their vitality or number of inhabitants.

The existence of a Party organization for the special region Jogjakarta is deemed necessary exclusively because this is evidently still a special region which needs its own Party committee to coordinate the Party Sections in its territory.

When Act 1 of 1957 regarding regional autonomy became law, it wiped out the province designation and consequently the names Provincial Party and Provincial Committee. In their place are mentioned Party of a Daerah Besar and Committee of a Daerah Besar. As name for the Party of a Daerah Besar it is sufficient to mention the name of the Party followed by the name of the Daerah Besar, e.g., for the organization called Party of the Daerah Besar of East Java it is sufficient to say "PKI East Java", and its committee is called "Committee PKI East Java".

Also because there are no more kabupaten [lesser regions], a distinction has to be made in the names of Party Sections of cities and former kabupatens of the same name. This involves that for Party Sections of cities the word "city" will have to be added to the names, while for former kabupatens it is sufficient to add the name of the particular region. For instance: The Committee of the Section of the City of Bogor we refer to as "Committee of the Section of the City of Bogor", while the committee of the former kabupaten of Bogor we refer to as "Committee of the Section of Bogor".

On Party conventions and conferences for the election of committees, the rules of the Constitution now demand the installation of election committees to propose the manner of electing and to compile registers of candidates on the basis of nominations.

On the election methods itself, whether they be written and secret or public, the rules of the Constitution do not decide anything at all. This is because secret and public elections have both their good and bad aspects; the time of the election and the particular problem involved may change the views on this subject. A decision, therefore, is left to the meeting concerned with the proposals of the election committee.

The Constitution has now introduced articles governing the age of members eligible for candidate of Party Committee. This article is important for the establishment of stable Party Committees, because the age of the members appears to be a measure of their quality. But age alone is insufficient to measure someone's quality. There are other and no less important factors to be weighed deliberately, such as ideological purity seen from a political as well as a moral viewpoint, devotion and sincerity, etc. These problems are difficult to discuss thoroughly in a general session. Here lies the important duty of the Election Committee that has to compile the register of candidates. Members of the election committees should therefore be really trustworthy Party members.

Since the best distribution of Party leaders and the temporary location of officials is of great importance for the development of the Party, the regulations of the Constitution now give the higher party committees the authority to transfer, if necessary, officials of lower Party organizations.

In this connection, we must finally mention the rules of the Constitution on the right of lower Party organizations to propose changes to Party organizations one level higher in decisions which they consider to be contrary to regional circumstances and certain interests. This is clearly aimed at bringing about the pure principle of democratic centralism in the relationship between higher and lower party organizations. Some fear that this opportunity can be abused to delay the execution of a decision. This can, of course, be the case. But on the other hand, if this really happens, it can even help to disclose the untidy nature of a lower organization. It is clear that such a regulation will aid every lower organization to execute decisions of higher ones sincerely and creatively.

IV. On the Central Organization of the Party.

Comrades: Only two matters need to be clarified regarding the regulations on the Central Organization of the Party. First the problem connected with the National Congress of the Party. In the present regulations of the Constitution, the National Congress of the Party convenes only once every five years. This is due to the difficulties of organizing the Congress and the time necessary to carry out its decisions. With regard to the long interval, we have to remember that considerable time is necessary to organize a Congress and also to execute its decisions. One of the reasons is the nature of our country, which consists of widely scattered islands with difficult communications. This means that each Central Committee just chosen by the Congress would have only little time to execute its decisions because it would have to start soon with preparations for the next Congress.

The Constitution rules that its legality is not only based on the amount of delegates representing more than half the members, but it must also represent at least one-third of the Daerah Besar organizations. This is important to preserve the unity of our Party in a national sense. Not only should we judge our Daerah Besar organizations on the basis of their membership but also on the basis of tribal considerations.

The Constitution now also governs the position of members and candidates of the Central Committee during

the Congress, that is to say all those who are not delegates but are present with the right to speak, however, without the right to vote on decisions. This was included for the sake of completeness.

Secondly, everything connected with the Central Committee. The Constitution now declares that the Central Committee not only establishes the Politbureau and the Secretariat but also the Daily Council of the Politbureau. This council is necessary to enable the Secretariat of the CC to execute fully the daily routines of the CC. The important daily decisions will then be taken care of by the Daily Council of the Politbureau. This step was taken because of the experiences explained by comrade D. N. Aidit in his report to the sixth plenary session of the CC. He explained that since the Politbureau can often not convene, very often the Secretariat of the CC had to take care not only of the daily routine of the CC, but that it was also forced to assume the duties of the central organization of the Party.

In addition, the title secretary general has been replaced in the constitution by chairman. This does not mean any real change, because as long as we have had a secretary general, he was also chairman of the CC, and consequently chairman of the whole Party.

In the Constitution are now also mentioned the Secretaries of the CC instead of the former functions of Head and Assistant Head of the Secretariat of the CC.

V. On the Regional Party Organizations.

Comrades: The rules of the Constitution on the regional Party organizations need only one clarification, i.e., regarding the regional Party Conference.

In the Constitution only two kinds of conferences are now mentioned. We treat first the conference with the status of a regional congress, which means that it functions as the highest leading body of regional Party organization. Delegates to such a conference are chosen by a Party conference on an immediately lower level, and guided by the Presidium that not only leads the conference but also exercises the functions and powers of the Party Committee as long as the conference lasts.

Secondly the Constitution mentions the interim held between two conferences. If we compare this with the Central Organization, the interim conference has the same status and functions as the National Party Conference. In keeping with its status and function, this interim conference is being attended by delegates chosen by the full sessions of the committees directly one level lower.

Its decisions are valid only after they have been legalized by the Party Committee concerned. It should not be necessary to explain that the leadership of an interim Conference rests in the hands of the Party Committee to which it belongs.

VI. On the Basic Organizations of the Party.

Comrades: The rules of the Constitution have now decided upon names for the various fundamental organizations of the Party. Previously we explained that they are called Party Resorts, or to put it in another way, the Party Resort in the basic organization of the Party. However, in the present Constitution this is mentioned in a different manner. It mentions two forms of basic organization. First, one of less than 100 members, called the Party Resort, and second, one with 100 members or more, called Resort Besar Partai [Party of a major Resort].

Under the latter, several Party resorts will be formed. Although such a Party resort would be under a major resort, it will have the same status as an ordinary Party resort in the sense that it has the same duties as mentioned in the Constitution, but it cannot be called a basic Party organization. The reason is that in their case the Party of a major resort will have the status of basic organization. This is because the Constitution decides that every factory, mine, village, hovel, highway, industry, school, teachers college, office and other place of business, regardless of the number of Party members (from three to hundreds of people) shall have only one organizational Party unit.

If, for instance, a Committee of a Subsection declares that it leads a certain resort, it is naturally not a part of a resort under a Party of a major resort. The status and duty of a Committee of a subsection is to coordinate and lead a fundamental Party organization, while a Party resort under and within a Party of a major resort cannot be a basic Party organization.

The Constitution now opens the opportunity for the membership of a group to reach a maximum of 10 persons. Although the Constitution does not regulate this, it is proper to observe in organizing a group that the female members are organized separately. Experience has taught that this helps to stimulate more active female leaders. We must remember that these groups exist only to facilitate the work, and no matter how active they may be, they should not be allowed to assume the duties of the Party resort. Through the groups the activity of the members must be unified and centralized by the Party

resort until it really acts like a single body. To make this clearer, we state that a Resort Committee is not allowed to act as a higher level organization, but must remain a leading group which guides the work of all its members in a direct manner.

The basic organization of the Party is a chain link connecting the Party with the masses. It is therefore an important duty of the leading Party organizations to inspect and improve constantly these basic organizations. It is a disturbing weakness that higher Party organizations have the habit of pushing and ordering the fundamental bodies just to make them execute given instructions, but that they do not provide sufficient education and concrete help to the members of their basic organizations. With all our energy we must strive to eliminate this weakness.

VII. On the Party Delegations in Organizations not Belonging to the Party.

Comrades: On this subject the Constitution has now made two changes that look like improvements. First, regarding the delegations of the Party in the representative councils of the Central Government and of the regions. With the importance of the work in the representative councils in mind, the rules regarding our Party delegations have been formulated in a separate and more complete chapter.

Work in the representative councils of the Central Government and the regions is important, not only politically for the Party, but also for the struggle to attain concrete improvements, however small, for the people. If every member of Party delegations in the representative councils really performs his work guided by complete understanding thereof, the people will understand better and be more convinced of the importance of the representative councils as organizations that defend and fight for the rights and claims of the masses. Here lies the strength of the people to fight for, maintain and enlarge the rights of the representative councils.

But the work in the representative councils contains a danger that may destroy or weaken the ideology of the members of our delegations because of the benefits that come with their membership of these councils. The Constitution therefore decides that members of our delegations in representative councils must watch their own standing and that of the party carefully. They must always live moderately, show an open mind in their contacts with the

people and always place the Party above their own interests.

The second change is that the position and rights of these Party delegations in the National Congress and the Conferences be arranged by the Party committee involved. This means that the Party committees use their discretion to see that Party delegations are represented as adequately as possible in the National Congress and the Party Conferences.

VIII. On Party Committees Entrusted with Supervision and Control.

Comrades: The Constitution shows great changes on this subject. In addition to the method of establishing a Verification Commission it now stipulates that a Control Commission will not only be formed at the top, but will also be a permanent part of regional Party organizations down to the level of sections.

The duties of the Control Commission promote the work of developing the Party and the consolidation of the results that have been reached.

Now, its duty is not only to receive complaints and requests of that nature, but also to investigate actively and in an organized manner the execution of the constitution in organizational, political, ideological and moral matters.

Whereas the Verification Commission has to report and account directly to the National Congress or the Party Conference, the Control Commission is established by, and works under, a Party committee. This means that every decision of a Control Commission is in accordance with the policies of the Party committee involved.

The Constitution explains that the Verification Commission has to inspect the Party administration, the accounting and use of its finances, its inventory and productive enterprises. These duties will not only be executed in a purely administrative manner. It is the Verification Commission's duty to thwart bureaucracy in the work of Party committees; for instance, in their correspondence, reports, instructions, accounting, etc.

When we take a short look at financial matters, we have to explain that the Constitution does not clearly state the duty of every member to report personally collections and expenses of the Party for which he is responsible to the particular member of the Party Committee entrusted with this duty. This is meant to aid the services of the Party responsible for the receipt and collection of contributions and donations. These services must also energetically pursue methods that facilitate and

speed up the collection of Party finances.

A minimum regarding membership dues is also explained. It means that discretion has to be used to arrive at the amount of contributions of members belonging to one income group. As example we take the group that receives a gross income between 250.00 rupiahs and 500.00 rupiahs. Taking into account the number of dependents of the members involved, it should be proper that members making a gross of 500.00 rupiahs should not pay only 1.00 rupiah, like those grossing 250.00 rupiahs.

IX. On the Relationship Between the Party and Youth.

Comrades: This is an entirely new chapter. The history of our struggle for independence demonstrates the important part that has been played and is still being played by our youth. We can now give testimony to the great number of Party leaders and leaders of labor organizations, organizations of farmers, women, etc. who originate from the youth movement. We also want to bear testimony to the great help of our youth in important actions and campaigns, as e.g., the general elections and the taking over of Dutch enterprises. All this shows that youth is our most trusted reserve material and a strong support for our Party.

Which youth organization has proven itself to be the source of reserve energy and the support of our Party?

The experience up to now and the evidence point to the youth organization Pemuda Rakjat [Youth of the People].

Confirming the connection of the Party with Pemuda Rakjat in the constitution makes the Party responsible for all that the constitution formulates on this subject. Party organizations of all levels must give careful consideration to the work of Pemuda Rakjat in matters of ideology and organization, guide it in teaching the Marxist-Leninist theories to all members, and see to it that close relations are assured between Pemuda Rakjat and the unorganized youth.

This all means that Pemuda Rakjat as a mass organization of youth stands on its own; only political and ideological leadership belongs to our Party.

Our youth is our future, heir of all our struggles. We are therefore convinced that all our Party organizations will not neglect their task, as stipulated by the constitution.

Comrades: So far the explanations that I deem necessary for the plan to change the constitution of our Party.

The commission for the reform of the constitution, of which I am the president, has already received enough proposals for corrections and suggestions, also approval of the plan to reform the constitution. This plan has been sent to all Party organizations as basis of discussion in preparation for the Congress together with the Thesis plan and the plan to revise the Program. The Commission received not less than 158 proposals for correction. There are such proposals that can be accepted, others that can be accepted partially, and others that cannot be accepted at all, although they are not wrong but considered not to be urgent. On the whole, these proposals for change were not against the plan, but tried to make it more complete.

The document that has now been issued to our comrades has already been changed and improved on the basis of the proposals we received. If there still are comrades who feel the necessity to propose new changes, again I advise that this matter be taken up with the Resolution Commission.

Finally, comrades, to close this report, I would like to remind you that as before, our Party will still have to face many heavy tests. But I can say with certainty that the difficulties experienced by the Party and the majority of its members, as well as the confused situations, really do not have to happen again, since the reason was lack of theoretical preparation of our Party.

Our Party is the Party of a still backward country, a still semi-feudal country with a proletariat not only small in numbers when compared with the farmers and bourgeois classes, but small generally; also young when compared with the European proletariat, and with a backward culture when compared to the culture of the bourgeois classes. But by blending political struggle with ideological education and leadership and Marxist-Leninist leadership, as has been shown by the Central Committee of the Party under Comrade Aidit's guidance, our Party can surely keep on developing and progressing in accordance with the articles and quality of the Marxist-Leninist Party, just like the Communist parties in already advanced capitalist countries, until it becomes the pride of the workers of Indonesia and of the workers' movement of the whole world.

With such a Party, no matter how great the obstacles and difficulties we face, we can surely conquer them.

Long live the Communist Party of Indonesia, with all who love it, and its chairman, Comrade Aidit.

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